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Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio: it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

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/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

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One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

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In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

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353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
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Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.
539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

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352 [177] [513] [192] In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed, which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire. The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 [412] [824] [192] For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions, has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly, the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on 574 [352] [192] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood, sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 [296] One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/ hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling; only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In- • 353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarakâ*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapâi* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarakâ* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

## SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4



252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingud* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingud* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

## VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guarani* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingud* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guarani* only some *Caingud* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

## DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guarani* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.